

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AGRE-00 /102 W

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P R 140721Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5623  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 WARSAW 5016

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR PL US  
SUBJ: CALL ON RYSZARD FRELEK, PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. SUMMARY. I MET FOR TWO HOURS YESTERDAY WITH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY RYSZARD FRELEK, DURING WHICH WE REVIEWED THE ENTIRE RANGE OF US-POLISH RELATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. FOLLOWING ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SESSION: (A) POLISH CONCERNS OVER THE COOLING OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS; (B) "ASTONISHMENT" OVER SOME THINGS NSC ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI SAID DURING HIS CHINA TRIP; (C) DISAPPOINTMENT OVER US FAILURE TO PROVIDE MORE CCC FINANCING; (D) A COMMITMENT TO REVIEW DIVIDED FAMILIES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. END SUMMARY.

2. FRELEK BEGAN WITH A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. HE SAID THE POLISH LEADERSHIP IS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE AND EXPAND THE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE US WHICH HAD DEVELOPED OVER THE PAST 5 TO 6 YEARS. THIS INCLUDES MORE EXTENSIVE TIES IN ALL FIELDS; POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SCIENCE, AND CULTURE. IT ALSO ENCOMPASSES FURTHER CONTACTS BETWEEN PARLIAMENTARIANS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.  
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TRIES. FRELEK SAID HE HOPED SPEAKER O'NEILL COULD ACCEPT HIS INVITATION TO LEAD A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO POLAND LATER THIS YEAR. HE SUGGESTED SEPTEMBER AS AN IDEAL MONTH. I REPLIED THAT THIS TIMING MAY NOT BE GOOD FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF US ELECTIONS, BUT THAT I WOULD REPORT FRELEK'S RENEWED INVITATION TO THE SPEAKER (H: PLEASE

PASS THIS INFORMATION TO REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL  
AND TO REPRESENTATIVE ROSTENKOWSKI).

3. FRELEK THEN SAID THE POLES ARE BECOMING WORRIED OVER  
THE LACK OF FOLLOW-UP

TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S  
DECEMBER, 1977, VISIT TO WARSAW. FOR EXAMPLE, THE  
PRESIDENT PROMISED SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION OF  
FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK'S REQUEST FOR 5-7 YEAR CCC  
CREDITS. SECRETARY VANCE, HE SAID, HAD INDICATED  
CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS FOR EVEN  
LONGER CREDIT TERMS. THIS SENTIMENT HAD ALSO BEEN  
EXPRESSED BY SENATOR STEVENSON DURING HIS JANUARY  
VISIT TO WARSAW. ACCORDING TO AMBASSADOR  
SPASOWSKI, HOWEVER, NOTHING IS HAPPENING IN  
WASHINGTON, AND THE POLES HAVE THE FEELING THAT  
THE ADMINISTRATION IS WITHDRAWING FROM ITS EARLIER  
FORTHCOMING POSITION. FRELEK SAID THIS WAS VERY  
UNFORTUNATE IN VIEW OF POLAND'S INTEREST IN BUYING  
3.5-5 MILLION TONS OF GRAINS FROM THE US THROUGH  
AT LEAST 1980. HE ALSO SAID POLAND EXPECTS TO IM-  
PORT A TOTAL OF 30-35 MILLION TONS BETWEEN  
NOW AND 1980.

4. ANOTHER OMINOUS DEVELOPMENT, ACCORDING TO FRE-  
LEK, IS THE DETERIORATING US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.  
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THIS IS ALL THE MORE DISTURBING TO THE GOP,  
SINCE POLAND'S NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE  
VERY MUCH SERVED BY GOOD TIES BETWEEN MOSCOW  
AND WASHINGTON. FRELEK THEN GAVE A EXTENDED HIS-  
TORICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR POLAND'S GOOD RE-  
LATIONS WITH THE USSR WHICH "ARE AND ALWAYS WILL BE  
IN HARMONY."

5. RETURNING TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION,  
FRELEK DESCRIBED THE EXPANSIONIST ECONOMIC  
POLICIES EVOLVED UNDER GIEREK AS BEING DIRECTED  
MAINLY TOWARD PROVIDING JOBS FOR THE 7 MILLION YOUNG  
WORKERS ENTERING THE WORK FORCE DURING THIS DECADE.  
THIS NECESSITATED RECORD-HIGH LEVELS OF INVESTMENTS  
(33-34 PERCENT OF NATIONAL INCOME) FOR SEVERAL

YEARS, WHICH IN TURN REQUIRED WESTERN CREDITS.  
THE RESULTING INDEBTEDNESS (FRELEK USED THE FIGURE  
13 BILLION DOLLARS, WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO  
"WESTERN PRESS REPORTS") WAS INCURRED AT THE  
VERY TIME PRICES FOR POLISH RAW MATERIAL EXPORTS  
WERE FALLING, COSTS OF IMPORTED INVESTMENT GOODS WERE RIS-

ING, AND PROTECTIONISM WAS GROWING IN THE WEST.  
BUT THE SITUATION IS GETTING BETTER, FRELEK SAID.  
HE SAID POLAND ENJOYED A ONE BILLION ZLOTY SURPLUS  
IN ITS TRADE WITH COMECON COUNTRIES DURING THE FIRST FOUR  
MONTHS OF THIS YEAR. (COMMENT: THIS WOULD REPRESENT QUITE  
A TURN-AROUND FROM OTHER INFORMA-  
TION WE HAVE RECEIVED THAT POLAND RAN UP A SUB-  
STANTIAL DEFICIT WITH THESE COUNTRIES LAST YEAR.  
END COMMENT). WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES, FRELEK  
SAID, AT LEAST THE TRADE BALANCE IS NOT GETTING WORSE.  
IMPORTS ARE DOWN AND EXPORTS ARE UP AND "TWO BILLION  
DOLLARS OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS WILL DO THE TRICK"  
(COMMENT: HE DID NOT EXPLAIN WHAT THIS MEANS. END  
COMMENT).  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5624  
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6. OTHERWISE, THE INTERNAL ECONOMIC SITUATION BOILS DOWN  
TO A PROBLEM OF EXCESSIVE PURCHASING POWER. MEAT WILL  
BE IN SHORT SUPPLY FOR "SEVERAL YEARS" AND PRICES FOR  
CONSUMERS WILL NOT BE RAISED UNTIL SUPPLIES AT THE  
RETAIL LEVEL ARE ASSURED. TO THAT END, FRELEK SAID,  
PRODUCERS' PRICES WILL BE RAISED FOR MEAT AND  
DAIRY PRODUCTS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. I

INTERJECTED THAT POLISH APPETITE FOR MEAT SEEMED INSATIABLE.

7. FROM A POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW, ACCORDING TO FRELEK, THE POLISH SITUATION IS STABLE. CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS ARE THE BEST IN POST-WAR HISTORY, AND THE CHURCH NOW SEEMS TO HAVE MORE TRUST IN THE REGIME. AS FOR DISSIDENTS, THE AUTHORITIES ARE NOT WORRIED. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO TOLERATE THE UTTERANCES AND PUBLICATIONS OF DISSIDENTS AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT GO TOO FAR, WHICH FRELEK EXPLAINED MEANT AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT "ENDANGER THE INTEREST OF THE STATE OR CAUSE SOCIAL TENSION." IN THE VIEW OF THE AUTHORITIES, POLISH DISSIDENTS HAVE LITTLE SUCCESS WITH STUDENTS AND WORKERS AND HAVE HAD ONLY A MARGINAL IMPACT ON THE POPULATION AT LARGE.  
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8. I THANKED FRELEK FOR HIS COMPLETE AND FRANK EXPOSITION OF POLISH VIEWS. I SAID WE TOO VALUE THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND WANT TO SEE IT PROSPER. I SAID WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW, BUT THAT OUR ENTIRE POST-WAR EXPERIENCE WITH THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN A MIXTURE OF COOPERATION AND COMPETITION. OUR GOAL IS TO AVOID HAVING THE LATTER DEVELOP INTO CONFRONTATION. THAT IS WHY WE ARE SO DISTURBED OVER UNNECESSARY SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA. I REFERRED TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S ANNAPOLIS SPEECH AS A REALISTIC AND BALANCED EXPRESSION OF US CONCERNS AND DESIRES. DESPITE OUR CONCERNS, WE CONTINUE TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS ON SALT, MBFR, AND A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN IN THE INTEREST OF REDUCED EAST/WEST TENSIONS. AS FOR EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, I ADDED, WE TREAT EACH ONE DIFFERENTLY AND DO NOT CONSIDER THEM AS EXTENSIONS OF THE USSR. FRELEK REPLIED THAT THIS IS UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED IN WARSAW.

9. ON THE QUESTION OF CREDITS, I SAID THERE WERE MANY CROSS-CURRENTS OF OPINION BOTH WITHIN THE CONGRESS AND IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. WITHIN THE FORMER THERE WERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. LONG-TERM CREDITS FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS WOULD REPRESENT A BREAK WITH THE PAST, AND THERE ARE MANY WHO HAVE MISGIVINGS ABOUT SUCH A CHANGE IN POLICY. ALSO, THE WHOLE AREA

OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS COME TO PLAY A ROLE IN MATTERS  
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OF THIS SORT. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THOUGH, AS  
SECRETARY BERGLAND HAD SAID DURING HIS VISIT, POLAND  
CAN COUNT ON THE US AS DEPENDABLE SUPPLIER  
OF ITS NEED FOR GRAINS. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD  
OTHERWISE, WE UNDERSTAND THE ELEMENTS OF THE GOP'S  
PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICIES, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE RE-  
DUCED EXPORTS. WE NEVERTHELESS ADVISE OUR COM-  
PANIES THAT POLAND IS A GOOD LONG TERM MARKET. WE  
WELCOME RECENT POLISH WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE US  
WITH ECONOMIC INFORMATION, I ADDED.

10. REPLYING

TO FRELEK'S COMPLAINT ABOUT "LACK OF  
PROGRESS" SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, I SAID  
WE ARE NOT SO PESSIMISTIC. VARIOUS COMMISSIONS,  
COUNCILS, AND HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS HAVE  
CONTINUED AND WE SEE THIS AS PROGRESS. ON THE  
OTHER HAND, WE OBSERVED LITTLE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN  
A PROBLEM OF GREAT CONCERN TO US: FREEDOM OF  
MOVEMENT OR DIVIDED FAMILIES. I MENTIONED THE 3  
CASES RAISED BY SECRETARY VANCE IN DECEMBER AND RE-  
GRETTED THAT ONLY ONE (BIEGUNSKI) HAD BEEN SOLVED. FRELEK  
RESPONDED THAT

MOST DIVIDED FAMILY CASES REPRESENT  
PERSONS WHO LEFT POLAND UNDER EXCHANGE PROGRAMS  
AND REFUSED TO RETURN. CONSIDERING THE ECONOMIC  
LOSS THIS ENTAILS, THE GOP CANNOT FACILITATE  
RAPID REUNIFICATION WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS. "WE  
WILL LET THEM GO, BUT NOT RIGHT AWAY", HE SAID.  
OTHERWISE, HE EXPLAINED, THE EXODUS WOULD BE TOO  
GREAT. THE MFA IS WILLING TO REVIEW THESE  
FAMILIES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS AND WOULD BE PRE-  
PARED TO CREATE A MECHANISM TO DO THIS. (COMMENT:  
THIS APPEARS TO BE A CLEAR REVERSAL OF THE  
GOP'S PREVIOUS POSITION, AND WE WILL MOVE TO TAKE  
ADVANTAGE OF IT. IT ALSO IMPLIES A WILLINGNESS  
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TO EXPLAIN REFUSALS, WHICH WE WILL ALSO TEST  
IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. END COMMENT).

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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11. I THEM BROUGHT UP GOP REFUSAL TO ISSUE VISAS TO SOME POLES, MOSTLY JEWS, NOW RESIDENT IN THE US. FRELEK SAID THESE PEOPLE ARE MAINLY FORMER PARTY OFFICIALS WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN ANTI-POLISH ACTIVITIES SINCE THEY LEFT THE COUNTRY. MOST OF THEM ARE RESIDENT IN SWEDEN, BUT OTHERS ARE IN DENMARK, AND THE US. AGAIN, THE MFA IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE CASES ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. IN ANY EVENT, FRELEK SAID, GOP POLICY IS NOT ANTI-JEWISH, AND HE REFERRED TO SEVERAL RECENT EXAMPLES OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

12. A THIRD ELEMENT OF OUR CONCERN OVER THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT ISSUE, I SAID, WAS POLISH REFUSALS TO ISSUE PASSPORTS TO NON-ESTABLISHMENT INTELLECTUALS SUCH AS MAZOWIECKI, BARANCZAK AND TARUNCZYK. I SAID WE ARE VERY ANXIOUS TO HAVE A WIDE SPECTRUM OF POLISH OPINION REPRESENTED IN OUR EXCHANGE PROGRAM, BOTH UNDER OFFICIALS AND UNOFFICIAL AUSPICES, AND GOP REFUSAL TO PERMIT TRAVEL OF SUCH PERSONALITIES AS THE ONES I CITED CAUSED GREAT CONCERN IN BOTH ACADEMIC  
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AND GOVERNMENT CIRCLES IN THE US. FRELEK SAID HE WAS NOT FAMILIAR WITH THESE CASES BUT WOULD

LOOK INTO THEM. IT WAS HIS GENERAL IMPRESSION, HE SAID, THAT MOST ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT LEADERS TRAVELED FREQUENTLY ABORAD.

13.FINALLY, I EXPRESSED CONCERN AT MY FAILURE THUS FAR TO SEE FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK AND PRIME MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ. I SAID I WOULD REGRET TO REPORT THIS DURING MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECRETARY AT THE CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE IN LONDON LATER THIS WEEK. FRELEK DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY, BUT SAID HE HOPED I WOULD CONVEY TO THE SECRETARY THE POLES' DESIRE TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS TO THE US. HE SAID HE AND I SHOULD MEET FROM TIME

TO TIME. IT WOULD BE USEFUL, FOR EXAMPLE TO DISCUSS SUBJECTS SUCH AS NSC ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI'S RECENT TRIP TO CHINA. FRELEK SAID HE WAS "ASTONISHED" AT REMARKS BRZEZINSKI MADE SUGGESTING THAT CHINA MIGHT BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON VIETNAM. HE SAID THAT HIS CONTACTS WITH THE VIETNAMESE CONVINCED HIM THAT HANOI WANTS NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE US AND THAT PUTTING THE PRC AGAINST VIETNAM COULD ONLY HINDER PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION. I SAID I WOULD BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT FURTHER WITH HIM AT A LATER DATE. WE AGREED TO GET TOGETHER AFTER THE COM MEETING.

COMMENT:

I AM NOT SURE THIS CONVERSATION ADVANCED US VERY FAR, BUT AT LEAST IT ESTABLISHED WHAT I HOPE  
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WILL BE A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH FRELEK. INCIDENTALLY, THIS IS HIS FIRST WEEK BACK ON THE JOB, AFTER A PROLONGED CONVALESCENCE FROM A COMBINATION OF AILMENTS HAVING TO DO WITH HIS RESPIRATORY AND DIGESTIVE SYSTEMS. CONTRARY TO OTHERS' IMPRESSION, I FOUND HIM LOOKING WELL AND RESTED, ALTHOUGH HE SAID HE HAD LOST CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT. END COMMENT.  
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